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A WORLD POLITICAL DATA AND ANALYSIS  
PROGRAM

Bruce M. Russett, et al

Yale University

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Semi-Annual Technical Report  
World Political Data and Analysis Program

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Bruce M. Russett  
H. Bradford Westerfield  
Jeffrey S. Milstein  
John D. Sullivan

Title: A World Political Data  
and Analysis Program

The Director  
Advanced Research Projects Agency  
Department of Defense  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the Semi-Annual Technical Report covering work performed for January 1 - June 30, 1973.

I. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Technical Problems and Accomplishments

During the past quarter, Mr. Russett continued his work on international relations theory. Mr. Russett's book manuscript, Power and Community in World Politics, has been copyedited by W. H. Freeman Co., and will be published late in 1973. The volume integrates 19 articles, many of them ARPA/ONR supported, that he has written over the past decade.

Currently Mr. Russett is engaged, with Peter Schneider, in an effort to examine continuities and changes in patterns of nations' voting behavior in the United Nations. The project involves analysis of all non-unanimous roll-call votes during the history of the U.N., and then will validate these data as basic indicators of foreign policy orientation with other information on nations' international behavior. Then the project will attempt to "predict" changes in policy orientation from changes in the structure and composition of national governments. It is already established that the element of continuity in nations' position on the major issues of world politics is very strong, with sharp changes quite the exception. We intend to establish, through regression analysis and computer simulation, some of the conditions which promote major change and which kinds of political developments, seemingly important to foreign policy position, in fact do not promote major change.

Mr. Russett discussed his paper, "A Countercombatant Deterrent? Feasibility, Morality, and Arms Control" (Technical Report #21 of this project), at the Hudson Institute and at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in May. He has just submitted a new analysis

of this topic, entitled "Assured Destruction of What? A Counter-combatant Alternative to Nuclear MADness," to a journal.

In June Mr. Russett attended a Senior Conference on "The American Army" at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, and also presented a paper at the Conference on "Successes and Failures of Scientific International Relations Research" at Ojai, California.

Mr. Russett is now analyzing results from a questionnaire received from nearly 600 business ("Fortune 500" and major commercial firms) vice presidents concerning their attitudes toward American foreign and military policy. The questionnaire is designed to tap their evaluations of likely and preferred outcomes in international politics, and to relate these to their concerns for domestic political conditions and the economic situation. This project, also done in collaboration with Dr. Hanson, represents a further examination of some of the concerns of the paper we published in the Rosen volume. Analysis of the data will begin during the next quarter.

Robert Markavy just received his Ph.D. in International Relations from Yale on the basis of his partially contract-supported dissertation about the determinants of buyer-seller relationships in the international arms trade before and after World War II, entitled "Arms Transfers and the International System: A Comparison of the Interwar and Postwar Periods."

The work of Professors Milstein and Sullivan on this contract is now complete.

#### DoD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation among nations.

## II. AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

### Technical Problem

Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States and Japan. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instance of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the national security decision process itself under such circumstances.

### General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also is examining the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic



factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study are converging on a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork is not under DoD auspices.

#### Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a content analysis of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on national security in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs and defense activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. These data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each party what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientations that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those predispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis has also been made of Australian journals of opinion and of Australia's most significant newspaper, The Melbourne Age.

The comparisons have been extended to include mass opinion tapped through survey research. The foreign affairs and defense questions on thirty-five Australian Gallup polls were run on the computer. The respondents' opinions on the five or six relevant questions on each individual poll were tabulated against the following variables: party supported at previous election, economic class, religion, age, sex, urban-rural residence, and state. Then controlling for party supported at previous election the opinions were tabulated against the remaining variables. Finally, controlling for both party and state residence, the responses were tabulated again against the remaining variables. The resultant printout for each question had approximately 100 tables, each of which was printed along with a chi-square significance test.

Although there were only a few questions which Gallup periodically repeated verbatim, many of the questions asked at different times were similar enough to produce trend lines. Graphs mapping Australian opinions on the following subjects were produced: involvement in Vietnam, the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation, the governing of Western New Guinea, the success of the United Nations, the acceptability of the United Nations as a world government, the creation and existence of foreign bases in Australia, military training, atomic testing, immigration, the relationship between Australia and New Zealand, the admission of China to the United Nations, trade with Communist China, recognition of China, and the nationality of the Governor-General. Along with division of opinion nationwide, graphs for each of the above topics were produced for all the variables previously mentioned except for state residence.



The next step has been to develop a combined code of issues and attitudes that would be applicable to all the national security discussions in the media and parliament and also to the opinion polls, in order to explore the extent to which legislators' statements coincide with the mass currents of opinion and with the intellectual and journalistic elite statements, and to what extent they lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region. Computer runs focussed first on the relative saliency of certain kinds of approaches (military, general non-military, economic, and national-identity-seeking) to thirteen large foreign and defense problems that recurred over time. Evidence clearly emerges, for example, of the generally greater saliency of military approaches in elite expressions than in mass-circulation expressions--but also of the greater fluctuation in elite than mass expressions in this regard. Later computer runs compared directions of movement of opinion in the various channels, distinguishing between the polls, seven periodicals, and thirty M.P.'s (the most verbal, half from each party) and showing how they clustered over time on almost a hundred different issue-orientations. Mr. Westerfield is now in Australia and able to check his conclusions with experts in the government and in the professions, in the course of his projected interviewing of elites. He is giving particular attention to the Australian relationship with Japan, because this is at the moment more stable, less sensitive and politicized, hence more researchable by interviews than is that with the United States.

#### DoD Implications

The research indicates an encompassing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it. A very interesting question to watch is whether the new Labor government, in power in Australia for the first time since 1949, makes any fundamental alteration in this pattern. So far there has been considerable rhetoric but little substantive change.

#### Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

Problems encountered: none.

ACTION REQUIRED OF THE GOVERNMENT: None

FUTURE PLANS: Mr. Westerfield will be in Australia January-December 1973, doing relevant field research (but not using DoD funds for the work done abroad). He will continue to make regularly scheduled progress reports. No other changes to report.

FISCAL STATUS

Amount currently funded  
Estimated expenditure to date  
Remaining funds

\$ 353,500  
332,000  
21,500

For the principal investigators,

Yours sincerely,

Bruce H. Russett  
Professor of Political Science

BMR:mc